January, 1943 Vol. XVIII, No. 1

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin

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Index of Names in the 1942 Bibliography

Imagery of Fire in the *Faierie Queene* (Concluded)

A Mirror of National Integration

Spenser's Wrenock

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The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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LIST OF ERRATA

Page 156, line 8 (par. 2) for 'signatureof' read 'signature of'

Page 157, line 15, insert comma after 'question'

Page 157, line 25, read 'believing' for 'beliving'

Page 164, line 12, insert comma after 'will'

Page 191, lines 39 and 40, correct the parenthesis

Page 192, line 3, correct 'writhen' to 'written'

Page 192, line 28, insert quotation mark after 'conduct'

Page 192, line 38, divide 'everyman' into 'every man'

Page 192b, last paragraph, read 'prescripts' for 'percepts' and correct 'wordly' to 'worldly'

THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1942)

Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which I thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1942 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia
bib	—bibliography
Bll	—Blätter
Bn	—Boston
comp	—compiler
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen
dt	—deutsch, &c.
ed(d)	—editor(s)
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Elizn	—Elizabethan
Engl	—English, englische, &c.
ES	—Englische Studien
facs(s)	—facsimile(s)
fr	—from
GR	—Germanic Review
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly
il(s)	—illustration(s)
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology
Lang	—Language
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	—Modern Language Review
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes & Queries
OUP	—Oxford University Press
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Press
PL	—Poet Lore
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
port(s)	—portrait(s)
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Pr	—Proceedings
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
RES	—Review of English Studies
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere, &c
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
Sp	—Spectator
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
trn	—translation
u	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

That I am sincerely grateful to all who have helped me in the preparation of this bibliography goes without saying.

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IMAGERY OF FIRE IN THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

By Grace W. Landrum

(*Concluded*)

THE myth of Prometheus will continue to enthrall poets. It has reappeared in our century, as in William Vaughn Moody's *The Fire-Bringer*. The great Aeschylean conception will recur, but with varied social implications, rather than with man's simple wonder at that Promethean heat of Othello's magnificant reference in the death scene of Desdemona. The mystery of fire largely disappeared with the illuminating match, unfamiliar to English poets until the second third of the nineteenth century. The Renaissance mind, that did not know Browning's "blue spurt of a lighted match," felt the magic of the kindling process. Furthermore, fires were unconcealed then. Now in our civilian, urban life they are largely guarded from sight. Accordingly flames, against which there was once the scantiest protection, stimulated an enormous amount of sixteenth century imagery. This seems less trite if one reads with a visualization of Elizabethan daily life and with a little imagination, remembering that today fire beyond its bounds is man's greatest terror still.

A glance at the *Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser* and at Whitman's *Subject-Index* will prove the numerosity of the poet's references to fire. As Shelley's mind was obsessed by the experience of drowning, so Spenser may have been haunted by the thought of such a holocaust as he probably saw at the destruction of Kilcolman Castle.

The treatment of the imagery of fire may begin with Mutability's analysis of the element:

> Last is the fire: which, though it liue for euer,
> Ne can be quenchëd quite; yet, euery day,
> Wee see his parts, so soone as they do seuer,
> To lose their heat, and shortly to decay;
> So, makes himself his owne consuming pray.
> Ne any liuing creatures doth he breed;
> But all, that are of others bredd, doth slay;
> And with their death, his cruell life dooth feed;
> Not leauing but their barren ashes, without seede.[1]

Spenser's imagery drawn from fire I shall classify thus: figures based on the similarity of fire to the sheen of metals;

comparisons of animal physique to manifestations of fire; human behavior characterized first by the beneficent and then by the devastating power of the element.

Like Chaucer, Spenser was continually charmed by the sunlike flash of metals. He notes general effects: metal "shining like Sunne rays"; armor shining like "Phoebus bright ray"; "sun bright arms"; armor "bright as skie." A splendid picture shows Radigund's armor hammered by Artegall:

> So did Sir Artegall upon her lay,
> As if she had an yron anduile beene,
> That flakes of fire, bright as the sunny ray,
> Out of her steely armes were flashing seene,
> That all on fire ye would her surely weene.[2]

Mention of particular weapons is frequent. The flaming sword, blade, or brand is a favorite. Not only does Arthur's shield (composed of solid diamond, of course, and not of metal) flash with the blinding effect of sunlight, but so do other "sun bright" and "sun broad" shields. Radigund wears a "sunshiny helmet." Derivative as the imagery may be, yet in itself it has been influential.[3] Nevertheless, because of its familiarity it needs no further emphasis.

Passing from comparisons of warlike equipment to fire and the likeness of the element to human characteristics, we may note the non-human "flaming tongue of Cerberus" (Vergilian, of course),[4] the nostrils of Enceladus like a "furnace red" (perhaps a Vergilian phrase),[5] "the flaming breath of steeds," and the "fiery feet" of Guyon's horse.

The great fiery dragon of Book I, Cantos XI and XII, belongs in a specialized study of Spenser's fabulous creatures.[6] In passing, one may express surprise that the phoenix, dear to Elizabethans, scarcely occurs in Spenser's poetry.

In our age generalizations of human behavior tend to splinter into special characterizations, under the domination of psychology. A few stock comparisons remain, probably not to be increased. Spenser's variation of the fiery eye appears in "sparkling fire out of furious eyes," eyes "casting secret flashes of lustful fire." By another conception the eyes of wounded Timias are like "lamps of quenched fire."

A charming simile depicts Britomart's eyes shining through her beaver while

> "from her eies did flash out fiery light
> Like coles, that through a silver censer sparkle bright."[7]

The beauty of this figure redeems the inept comparison in the Allegory of the Body in Book II, Canto IX: eyes like "two goodly Beacons," a phrase which, apart from its context, would still allure.[8] (A beacon, name lingering delightfully in the hills of Gloucestershire and Somerset, must have been really significant in the poet's troubled years in Ireland.) Additionally he speaks of thirst as "flaming," of the "fervent heat" of the feasters' appetites in Castle Joyous, and of the "molten heart" steamed in sleep.

For most of the moral attributes Spenser signally honored he has images of fire. Obviously he cannot thus symbolize his grand virtue of temperance. Fire is not easily a general symbol of friendship, justice or courtesy. But several interlocking excellencies he typifies by fire: virtue, noble ambition, courage, righteous indignation: the "zealous fire of noble thoughts"; the freshly kindled "spark" of response to noble lineage; the "broad-blazed fame" of the Red Cross Knight, to quote Dame Coelia's words; and that of other knights of "strange adventures" who won "great worth and worship." Fame, courage, honor, he thus lists in Calidore's reluctant refusal of Tristram's assistance:

> "Glad would I surely be, thou courteous Squire,
> To haue thy presence in my present quest,
> That mote thy kindled courage set on fire,
> And flame forth honour in thy noble brest."[9]

Courage, as a discrete virtue, if it ever be that, he repeatedly likens to fire. "Sparks of noble courage," "heat of youthful spite" (in a purely favorable connection) he varies with "flaming courage." Especially he likes figuratively to revive courage with fresh sparks. He had no doubt endlessly enjoyed the brightening of a sickly fire on his own hearth. An opposite effect, of fire suppressed and then let loose, appears in a powerful simile:

> Like as a fire, the which in hollow caue
> Hath long beene ynderkept, and downe supprest,
> With murmurous disdaine doth inly raue,
> And grudge, in so streight prison to be prest,

At last breakes forth with furious unrest,
And striues to mount unto his natiue seat;
All that did earst it hinder and molest,
It now deuoures with flame and scorching heat,
And carries into smoake with rage and horror great.[10]

Sheer physical courage, though exemplified a thousandfold, is not a definitive impulse in the noblest of the *Faerie Queene* knights. Righteous indignation of the Psalmist's intensity often motivates. Red Cross experiences a "fiery" if impermanent zeal at the first sight of Despair. The heart of Calidore did "inly flame" at an unavenged wrong. The fisherman's assault upon Florimell incites "burning fury." The misery of the Squire in Squallid Weed beside his headless lady so stings Artegall and Talus that they "flamed with zeale of vengeance inwardly" and rode in hot pursuit of the murderer. In true Spenserian fashion the courage to avenge the wrongs of others blends with compassion. One of the most beautiful aphorisms which are seldom noticed unless they sparkle in alexandrines, is:

"For wheres no courage, theres no ruth nor mone."[11]

Figures concerning tearful sympathy with wronged innocence naturally belong in another category. Incidentally Spenser has an interesting reference to himself, not, of course, as a physical champion of distress, but as a sensitive onlooker, when he tells us that in recounting the woes of Florimell his heart doth "melt with mere compassion." If one doubts his sincerity, let him remember that William and Mary Wordsworth shed tears over Una's plight when they read the *Faerie Queene* as a solace in deep bereavement.

In recounting "faithfull loves" Spenser would normally repeat figures drawn from fire, stock phrases of other poets; yet he makes them his own. Elton excellently expresses the obligation thus: "No need to ask whether he borrows; it is enough to see that he writes.[12] We may rank the intensity of love as a pure passion in an ascending scale, beginning with Arthur's analysis to Una of the course of love:

Deare Dame (quote he), you sleeping sparkes awake,
Which troubled once, into huge flames will grow,
Ne euer will their feruent fury slake
Till liuing moysture into smoke do flow,
And wasted life do lye in ashes low.

Yet sithens silence lesseneth not my fire,
But told it flames, and hidden it does glow,
I will reuele, what ye so much desire:
Ah Loue, lay downe thy bow, the whiles I may respire.[13]

Frequently appear the "fire of loue," "the goodly fire," "the kindly flame of loue," the "creeping flames," the fair Lady "inflamed by loue's rage," the "no unusual fire of loue," and the further incitement to passion when "fresh coles" are laid. The connotation in each of these cases is of chaste love, pleasurable if mixed with pain. The emotion of Britomart, enamored of Artegall, rises thus to dangerous intensity:

Ne ought it mote the noble Mayd auayle,
Ne slake the furie of her cruell flame,
But that she still did waste, and still did wayle,
That through long languour, and hart-burning brame
She shortly like a pynëd ghost became,
Which long hath waited by the Stygian strond.[14]

By an extension, fire becomes an emblem of the good life, as well as of the good lover:

Most sacred fire, that burnëst mightily
In living brests, ykindled first aboue,
Emongst th' eternall spheres and lamping sky,
And thence pourd into men, which men call Loue;
Not that same, which doth base affections moue
In brutish minds, and filthy lust inflame,
But that sweet fit, that both true beautie loue,
And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
Whence spring all noble deeds and neuer dying fame.[15]

Lastly, the element symbolizes the highest reach of human aspiration in an address to "the greate Muse."

Yet sith I needs must follow thy behest,
Doe thou my weaker wit with skill inspire,
Fit for this turne; and in my feeble brest
Kindle fresh sparkes of that immortall fire,
Which learnëd minds inflameth with desire
Of heauenly things.[16]

Turning to imagery of fire as an evil force we may observe that there is little suggestion from the idea of smoke. The word appears often concretely; seldom figuratively, as in "smoke of vanity," and in the splendid alexandrine in the description of the fire in the cave.[17] Ashes, as distinct from the generating fire, Spenser practically omits, but repeats the Chaucerian comparison of pallid cheeks to ashes.

To a remarkable degree manifestations of unruly human passions are likened to fire. One is tempted to draw a fantastic Renaissance design of the Seven Deadly Sins with the separate figures at least of five of the Sins—Pride, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, Wrath—lapped in curling flames. Sloth naturally is absent. Thus, griefs concealed are compared to flames. The misery of Scudamour is like a fire to be quenched. To return to the Sins, Pride is characterized as "blazing." Impatience, one of the two old hags following Maleger, is armed with raging flame. Avarice in the great Cave of Mammon scene is thus described:

> Then auarice gan through his veines inspire
> His greedy flames, and kindled \ife-deuouring fire.[18]

Malice with its "furious flames" is close akin to envy, which may include the "kindling coles" of cruel enmity. Revenge all "burning with a fresh desire" and with "hasty heat" is properly next.

Generalizations of wrath or anger as fiery occur insistently. An unusually aphoristic stanza thus defines wrath combined with other passions:

> Wrath, gealosie, griefe, loue dc thus expell:
> Wrath is a fire, and gealosie a weede,
> Grief is a flood, and loue a monster fell:
> The fire of sparkes, the weede of little seede,
> The flood of drops, the Monster filth did breede.[19]

Among numerous similar expressions occur these: a heart "molten by wrath," "flaming furie," "euer burning wrath," the "brand of ire," "wrathful fire," "wrath euer burning." Marked discord begins with "small sparks," which once blown, are unquenchable except by a god or "godlike man." Strife and war are likewise "kindled." Very striking are characterizations of wrathful individuals. The Two Brothers whom Artegall later appeased are in the quarrel over their inheritance kindled "with wrathfull fires."[20] Orgoglio is "inflamed with scornful wrath." Artegall and the "cursed, cruell Sarazin" demanding passage money at the bridge meet in combat so furious that

> There being both together in the floud,
> They each at other tyrannously flew;
> Ne ought in water coolëd their whot bloud,
> But rather in them kindled choler new.[21]

Three characters conceived with even exceptional power show fiery qualities. Orgoglio is inflamed with "scornful wrath." Radigund at her castle gates is "inflamed with fell despight." Pyrocles is by derivation the embodiment of fire unquenchable.[22] Equipped with his shield of brass, the inscription on it, *Burnt, I do burn,* armed with poisoned arrows, he gives forth such outcries when he seeks to quench "his implacable fire," his "inly flaming syde," that he is worthy the imagination of Dante and the terrible irony of Swift.[23]

Spenser's greatest emphasis falls on the treatment of fire as symbolizing sinful passion. He does not announce the sharp antithesis of love and lust that occurs in *Venus and Adonis:*

> Love comforteth like sunshine after rain,
> But Lust's effect is tempest after sun:
> Love's gentle spring doth always fresh remain,
> Lust's winter comes ere summer half be done;
> Love surfeits not; Lust like a glutton dies;
> Love is all truth, Lust full of forgëd lies.[24]

Nevertheless, the context clearly differentiates the natures and the effects of chaste love and lawless passion. Thus from Arthur's recital of his past, Troilus-like amusement at lovers' plights, we understand that by "the fires which them [the lovers] to ashes brent," he means only honorable love. By contrast in other situations we read of "the fleshly flame," "the flamed mind," "the cruel flame of loue," the "secret coles put to its fire," the "kindling coles of lust," "the burning eye" of Desire, "newly kindled youthful desire," the boiling fire of love, flames inly burning, most raging hot. "Lustful fire" occurs more than once. The emotion is sometimes delineated with a complete abandon which is the equivalent of salaciousness in the language of contemporary drama. Fire consumes Malbecco's heart, Sylvanus "burnt in his retreat." Acrasia sucking Guyon's spright through his human eyes "was quite molten into lust." The Witch's son:

> Cast to loue her [Florimell] in his brutish mind;
> No loue, but brutish lust, that was so beastly tind.
> Closely the wicked flame his bowels brent,
> And shortly grew into outrageous fire.[25]

One more case, that of Clarinda, will suffice:

> Euen so Clarinda her owne Dame beguyld,
> And turn'd the trust, which was in her affyde,
> To feeding of her priuate fire, which boyld
> Her inward brest, and in her entrayles fryde,
> The more that she it sought to couer and to hyde.[26]

Surely here is "lust in action," a vicarious delineation of "the expense of spirit in a waste of shame," to delineate which Spenser would have been far less compelling without his superb use of the imagery of fire.

It is perhaps significant that the river of the classic underworld of which he speaks oftenest is Phlegethon.

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[1]*FQ.* 7, 7, 24.
[2]*FQ.* 5, 5, 8, 1-5. For recent interesting treatment of Radigund see Celeste Turner Wright, *Studies in Philology,* Vol. 37, July, 1940, pp. 441 and *passim.*
[3]*Variorium I,* 198.
[4]*Variorium III,* 234.
[5]*Ibid.,* p. 279.
[6]See the author's mention of these in the *Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* "Imagery in the *Faerie Queene* drawn from Flora and Fauna," Vol. XVI, No. 2 and 3.
[7]*FQ.* 5, 6, 38, 7-9.
[8]See *Variorium I,* 298 for parallels.
[9]*FQ.* 6, 2, 37, 1-4.
[10]*FQ.* 2, 11, 32.
[11]*FQ.* 6, 7, 18, 5.
[12]"Colour and Imagery in Spenser," *Modern Studies,* London, Edwin Arnold, 1907, p. 72.
[13]*FQ.* 1, 9, 8.
[14]*FQ.* 3, 2, 52, 1-6.
[15]*FQ.* 3, 3, 1. See *Variorium III,* 233 for Upton's comment on Platonic source.
[16]*FQ.* 7, 7, 2, 1-6. *Variorium VI* and *VII,* 291-2.
[17]See note 10, *supra.*
[18]*FQ.* 2, 7, 17, 8-9.
[19]*FQ.* 2, 4, 35. See *Variorium III,* 230 for comment of B. E. C. Davis.
[20]*FQ.* 5, 4, 4, 5ff.
[21]*FQ.* 5, 2, 13, 1-4.
[22]See *Variorium II,* 231, 247 for comment on the name and Gilbert's list of all his epethets drawn from fire.
[23]*FQ.* 2, 6, 44, 3ff.
[24]*Ll.* 800-804.
[25]*FQ.* 3, 7, 15, 8-9; and stanza 16, 1-2.
[26]*FQ.* 5, 5, 53, 5-9.

A MIRROR OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

A New Summary of Four Decades of the English Theatre

By HENRY W. WELLS

THE strength of a cooperative effort by all productive classes of a complex society is well illustrated by a notable chapter in theatrical history. The evolution of the English theatre throughout the forty years preceding Shakspere's first plays offers an unsurpassed record of social integration. The highly privileged classes proved willing to accept much from the less privileged; the popular mind won a direct contact with the aristocratic mind; and, to conclude, a nation in time of relative peace achieved a unity in its spiritual life attained elsewhere only under the most stringent conditions of total war. The history of the pre-Shaksperian English stage takes on today a new meaning, of no small value to both the British and the American democracies.

This article aims to trace the outlines of this evolution in a slightly clearer and more significant light than they have hitherto enjoyed. Three factors are of outstanding importance. The first is the changing status of the leading companies producing the chief plays. The second is the shift of the chief royal patronage from companies of little or no share in the movement of the popular theatre to those having a large share. (We have long termed Shakspere's theatre the Elizabethan theatre, but no one has really shown the phrase to be a happy term rather than a gratuitous one.) In the third place, it is legitimate to see the long-rooted tendency of mankind to envisage its development in terms of decades as strikingly valid for interpretation of the Elizabethan theatre. Unique contributions of the fifties, sixties, seventies and eighties to the sixteenth-century English stage seem capable of a more strictly chronological summary than has commonly been admitted, Although this momentously dynamic period in the theatre is doubtless ecletic, highly diversified and irregular, it need not therefore be quite so confusing to the historian of drama, of ideas and of the temper of the times as it remains in many elaborate expositions. When critically considered, the Elizabethan stage gives evidence of the power of the stage to mirror human life,

and especially social problems, not only in Elizabethan England but in our world at large.

The development may be summarized by saying that relatively weak work and disparate forces combined to make a mighty force. Artistic expression remained comparatively weak so long as it voiced the culture of distinct social classes and institutions. It became strong as it dramatically converged to voice the culture of a united people. In 1550 theatrical entertainments in England addressed only limited classes. Although virtually all the people enjoyed some entertainment, no such truly communal entertainment as afforded in the times of Chaucer by the great Mystery Play cycles was available. Even the genial democratic temper in the plays of John Heywood, where all classes are levelled by farce, belongs to an earlier and more catholic age. For the old drama the Reformation spelled disintegration. Shakspere began to write just as there again arose a communal theatre expressing the entire nation, uniting in a magic circle the taste and wisdom of the plebeian crowds, the public schools, the colleges, the law schools, aristocratic households, private circles of intellectuals, and the court itself.

Of course it is no simple matter to summarize a dramatic history where most of the plays remain utterly unknown today, where only a small fraction known by title survive in complete texts, and where records of performances and theatrical companies remain at best somewhat obscure. Nevertheless a summary may be reached which rather than violating the facts legitimately interprets them. The decade from 1540 to 1550 is a winter's sleep. The fifties disclose the rise of a new neo-classical comedy written in a racy vernacular, almost wholly under the auspices of schools and colleges. The sixties show a notable rise in neo-classical tragedy largely under the auspices or leadership of the Inns of Court. The seventies witness a surfeit of romantic plays on both medieval and classical themes produced for the court and by companies not notably engaged in popular entertainment as well. The eighties present the rise of the great Elizabethan drama: a drama rich in lyrical poetry, dramatic intrigue, and profound humanity, written by scholars leaning upon the humanist traditions of both schools and court, entertaining both a popular and a court or private audience, at

once racy and thoughtful, plebeian and aristocratic. The well organized popular companies begin to feed the court and private houses as well. The queen herself becomes patron of the first highly active company playing under both auspices. The popular theatres for the first time make their influences strongly felt. The court at first receives and then renounces the old-fashioned and class-conscious John Lyly as its leading entertainer; it prepares to receive and to patronize the new-fashioned and communally minded William Shakspere.

The development is especially clear during the first three of these four decades. We trace it both by focussing attention upon the chief plays representing true dramatic innovations, and by noting the titles of some of the much more numerous plays now lost. And we trace it especially by observing the auspices under which the plays were given.

We know that from at least the middle of the century plays designed chiefly to divert the populace, and even the provincial populace, were occasionally performed by companies under due patronage. The best example of this type of entertainment to come down to us is *Cambyses* (*c.* 1560). Its technical crudities and general naiveté indicate that its author had an eye upon a popular audience. Scholarly humanism touches the work but lightly. The general inexpertness of the play strongly suggests an amateurish authorship and a company no more than casually or superficially trained in the arts of the theatre. It betrays the degeneration into which the stage had fallen during the waning of the medieval tradition, when, year by year, the great Mystery dramas were meeting with neglect, decay and extinction. It scarcely hints at the new life that was just appearing or had already appeared a few years before *Cambyses* itself was performed. The play may possibly have had a court performance; it certainly in no way suggests a superior court culture.

Clearly a newly developed English comedy preceded a newly developed tragedy. It is no less clear that this comedy, based on Plautus and Terence, was performed chiefly in the schools and colleges, whence it occasionally found its way to court. While the Roman comic poets were probably

played in both Latin and English before 1550, it is doubtful if English plays to any serious degree modelled on them were given before 1550. During the decade of the fifties several such seem to have been performed, of which *Ralph Roister Doister,* probably given at Westminster School, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle,* originating at Christ's College, Cambridge, are, of course, the chief examples. Thus the new comedy was along slightly stiff and academic lines and largely for school consumption, and launched shortly before Elizabeth came to the throne.

The first decade of her reign was, considered in theatrical terms, a decade of tragedy. It seems likely that some Senecan plays had already been given in Latin and possibly even in English before the equivalent of a new tragedy in English was produced. The decade is significantly ushered in by the first of the celebrated series of English versions of Seneca, Jasper Heywood's *Thyestes* in 1560. Two years later the first known English tragedy in the humanist tradition, Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc,* made its appearance, under the auspices of the Inner Temple. Four years later the Inner Temple witnessed the still more powerful *Gismund and Salerene,* written by five of its members. A survey of the plays produced during this decade shows how deeply the Senecan influence was felt and to what a large extent tragedy temporarily outdistanced all other forms for court performances and court reading. The remaining tragedies by Seneca were quickly translated. During the decade also appeared tragedies on the classical subjects of Dido, Darius, Appius and Virginia, and Massinissa, as well as a translation of Sophocles' *Ajax* into Latin and Gascoigne's version of Euripides by way of the Italian. So Elizabeth's reign commenced somewhat sternly so far as the advance of the drama was concerned. The chief contribution of the decade came unquestionably from the Inns of Court, where a considerable number of scholars betrayed serious dramatic interests and not unnotable gifts. And yet no great burst of dramatic energy is discernible. Professional actors are still given relatively slight support; they have no adequate homes for their plays. The theatrical instincts of the people as a whole remain inadequately tutored by learning or encouraged by the court, while the scholars and courtiers give, if possible, decreasing countenance to popular enter-

tainment. Humanism in England begins to wear a priggish air.

The seventies prove remarkable for a tendency seldom if ever noted by historians of the drama, a tendency which nevertheless swelled almost to the dimensions of a movement and has an eloquent and ironic place in theatrical evolution. The great Elizabethan drama of the last two decades of the century actually represents a revulsion from much that occurred during the seventies. The court, becoming increasingly affected and elegant, more and more sensitive to French, Italian and Spanish literatures and modes of thinking, from approximately 1570 to 1580 drew somewhat further away from the thought of the English people as a whole and commenced a vogue of chivalrous and distinctly aristocratic expression. Here we should, perhaps, extend the wave of taste slightly into the next decade, to include the first plays of John Lyly, whose *Euphues,* nevertheless, belongs to the close of the seventies. During these years, also, Sir Philip Sidney produced his pastoral mask, *The Lady of May* (1578), and wrote in his *Defense of Poesy* his austere, highly aristocratic and neoclassical comments upon the drama. These were banner years for the Children of the Chapel and for the Paul's Boys. Both in theory and practice the court was becoming rather more than less exclusive; there was no successful attempt to arrive at a national drama in place of a class drama, and as yet no strong evidence of social democracy in English taste.

The queen was invited to a series of plays artificial and romantic in tone, dealing indiscriminately with classical and chivalric themes and lacking native vitality. It is significant that only enough of these plays has survived to assure us of their general character—significant and rather fortunate, since they usually make poor reading. The two most representative of the ultra-romantic plays are *The Conflict of Conscience* and *Common Conditions,* the former published in 1581, the latter entered in the Stationer's Register for 1576 but both probably originating in the early seventies. The titles of many lost plays strongly suggest similar work, such as *Lady Barbara* (1571), *Ajax and Ulysses, Chariclea, Cloridon and Radiamanta, Narcissus,* and *Paris and Vienna* (1572), *Predor and Lucia* and *Mamillia* (1573),

Herpetulus the Blue Knight and Porobia, Panecia, Perseus and Andromeda, Phedrastus, Phignon and Lucia, Philemon and Filicia, Pretestus and *Timoclea* (1574), *The Painter's Daughter* and *The Red Knight* (1575), *Cenocephals, The Irish Knight, The Solitary Knight* and *Titus and Gisippus* (1577), and *The Greek Maid* and *The Knight in the Burning Rock* (1579). These works, together with John Lyly's court comedies on mythological themes appearing in rapid succession early in the next decade, present a formidable sequence of romantic plays without either the true tang of comedy or the true depth of tragedy, and lacking any real contact with the thought and manners of the English people. More strongly than at any previous period in English history, the drama threatens to be divided into popular and undistinguished shows for the people, derivative and aristocratic drama for the court. Yet this court seems unfit to develop within itself the polish of the court drama elsewhere achieved in Europe.

The next few years, culminating with the emergence of Marlowe and Kyd in or about 1587 and of Shakspere some four years later, definitely set on its course the sudden outburst of England's true dramatic genius. Many suggestions have naturally been offered in explanation, none of which alone is or can be satisfactory. But perhaps no single statement can be more significant in this connection than the observation that, accompanying a number of developments in the status of the theatrical world itself, the British theatre abruptly ceased to be divided into a number of stages each reflecting a separate class or group in English life and became truly national. School and court had already effected a marriage as yet not conspicuously fruitful. Now the English public at large, especially in London, but to some extent throughout the land, was called upon to share this entertainment and to stimulate its growth. In the light of subsequent development, one of the most extraordinary features of the new theatrical world is the quiet period following the opening of the first public theatre in 1576 and 1577. The establishment of the Globe and Curtain does not seem at once to have rejuvenated the stage. No greatly increased number of plays is known to have been produced for the next four or five years, nor do the plays surviving from this period nor

anything known of the plays not extant nor of the performances themselves, make the great outburst of activity about 1587 seem more natural. The building of houses more fully equipped for theatrical performances than inn courts or royal halls was doubtless a gain; but not in itself a solution. New audiences, new playwrights, a well trained and more steadily employed company and above all a new social philosophy of drama were required. Historians of the theatre have pardonably exaggerated the importance of the building of the theatres and often missed the sociological importance of the establishment of the queen's company under Elizabeth's own patronage in 1583, playing in various houses. It is true that the companies under the patronage of various of Elizabeth's nobles played often at court. Yet a company under her own patronage, and organized with royal suffrage and in part certainly for royal entertainment, was a new and important advance. Its life was precarious; many of its actors passed shortly to the Admiral's Men or to the Chamberlain's, in other words, to the direction of Henslowe or Burbage. Nevertheless the seal of royal favor granted the popular English stage at the most critical period in its infancy seems one of the foremost signs of the times.

While history and tradition alike fail us in direct evidence, the presumption stands almost beyond doubt that both Elizabeth and her chief courtiers wearied of the diet of largely romantic plays to which they had been subjected throughout the years between 1570 and 1584-5. The courtly or romantic play, it seems, was not enough; it was not even headed in the right direction. The University plays in themselves were inadequate in warmth, fluidity and imagination. Marlowe came from the University to join his talents as an ardent humanist with the energies of the new, popular theatre. The outlook at both the Globe and the Curtain took an abrupt turn for the better.

At this juncture came with dramatic violence the long threatened struggle with Spain. War may create a military caste, but we well know today how often it furthers the cause of social democracy. Elizabeth is never seen in a more democratic light than when addressing her people at the training camp at Tilbury just before the victory over the Armada. This national triumph inevitably had strong reper-

cussions in the imaginative and theatrical life of the people. It unified the national spirit together with the national will. Moreover historians of the drama too often fail to recall that in her democratic outlook and sincere love of her people Elizabeth inherited the Tudor as distinct from the Stuart outlook. She was not so much of an aesthete as Charles nor so much of a pedant as James; she seems to have witnessed far fewer plays than they and to have attended more diligently to the affairs of state. Yet her philosophy of the stage was indubitably sounder than theirs. The company which she patronized performed at the Red Bull Inn the first true chronicle history play to come down to us and probably one of the first to be written, *The Famous Victories of Henry V* (1586), which is universally remembered as the first play based upon Holinshed and the direct source for much of Shakspere's concluding trilogy in his English historical dramas. Here for the first time appeared the figures later to be transformed into Falstaff and his followers. The plausible tradition of Elizabeth's later association with Falstaff is too well known to require mention, though its wider significance may often have been missed. The court and people alike must at once have felt the force of the chronicle history plays in uniting the nation and inspiring it with patriotic fervor. True poetry first came to the English stage with the historical play *Tamburlaine;* the intrigues of statecraft first became the intrigues of drama in *The Spanish Tragedy*. No group of plays rivalled the chronicle histories themselves in confirming the greatness of either the young Shakspere or the growing Elizabethan drama as a whole. Court and populace alike found here a common theme for plays, and companies playing in the popular theatres discovered a lively technique worthy of both the patriotic theme and themes far greater and more nearly universal.

At approximately 1580 two forces seriously competed for possession of the English drama, both relying on the court for patronage and for protection against the otherwise irresistible Puritan opposition. These forces were the romantic or courtly drama so popular in the seventies and the new national drama so abruptly popular in the eighties. Lyly makes great advances over his predecessors in polite romantic comedy but actually represents the older school. His Euphuism is a courtly affectation; his themes and ideas are

those of the school comedy inherited from the days of Udall; his actors are the oldest established company in the kingdom, the Paul's Boys, and the similar though younger company under the Earl of Oxford. Lyly, long ardently and pathetically aspired to royal favor and to the post of Master of Revels, from which he would have been in a position to exercise a considerable if not actually a guiding hand over London's entertainment. He failed in all his personal ambitions. Brilliant as his dramatic successes at first must have seemed, their power to dazzle was short-lived. By 1583 the initiative in the English drama definitely passed from the more courtly companies to the more popular ones. The courtly school offered a rather pale romantic comedy but no really robust comedy or native tragedy. On the other hand the popular theatre had these more substantial plays, a great tragic actor in Alleyn and a great comic actor in Tarlton. Henceforth the children were always to play a second fiddle and, despite Hamlet's fears, to continue as the apes and followers of their betters. The public play-houses always kept a little in advance of the new private play-houses, where the rich or even royalty itself might go for entertainment. They became the great dramatic laboratories of the kingdom. The most relished performance at court and the most frequently given were the offspring of the popular theatres.

The English stage reflects English life not only in its democratic genius for achieving a common meeting place for all classes of the community but in maintaining a state of illogical compromise. Throughout the last years of Elizabeth's reign a few performances were, of course, given at court and some plays written that might have appeared without any of the ferment of the popular dramatic movement. The Stuarts barely ascended the throne before there began to creep back the exclusive, aristocratic drama that once threatened to dominate even the court of Elizabeth. But so strong was the national spirit created by the decade of the Armada and the quiet patronage of Elizabeth, that the dominant note for the first seven or eight years of James's reign remained still national. Then, with the retirement of Shakspere and the ascendancy of Beaumont and Fletcher, the cavalier drama came into the ascendancy. The city and

the nation lost command of the stage. Continental influences again ruled without serious check from the native genius. A narrowly aristocratic taste won the day; and the very forces that had clearly yielded the field by 1586 returned to triumph by approximately 1616.

In small things we see the images of mighty ones; and just as the infinitely human stage mirrors the national life, so a single playwright, hardly himself a commanding genius, faithfully mirrors the turn of the tide. George Peele enjoyed a longer career as playwright than Marlowe, Kyd or Greene, and hence best epitomizes the change. His *Arraignment of Paris,* produced in December 1581, is a graceful pastoral play in the courtly or Sidnean manner, given at court by the Children of the Chapel. It is a more refined and elegant drama than John Heywood's relatively homely *Play of the Weather,* but even if Peele's rhetoric is more extreme, his basic conception is as trivial as that in Heywood's interlude, presumably given under analogous auspices. Peele did not mold his age; he was molded by it. The same year—1587—that witnessed Marlow's *Tamburlaine* witnessed Peele's *David and Bethsabe,* a poetic play on biblical history treated in the technique of the English chronicle histories so much loved by the popular audiences. All Peele's later plays were presumably written for the popular companies, his association so far as is known being confined to the Queen's Men, the Admiral's Men, and Strange's. For these companies he wrote in Marlowe's eclectic vein, both as scholar and as popular playwright. His material might equally serve the newly democratic taste of the court or the eager palate of the vulgar. His mature plays are conspicuous for lively poetry, stirring intrigues, and national fervor. It is a far cry from his *Arraignment of Paris* to his *Edward I.* In The *Old Wive's Tale* (c. 1590), he writes with keen appreciation of folklore and with a sophisticated irony pleasing, no doubt, to the educated but turned against the very type of romancing received with favor at court ten years before.

Shakspere is wholly of the new age. If he writes a Senecan tragedy of revenge, it is British no less than Senecan; if he writes a romantic comedy, it is English no less than romantic. That Shakspere addresses all social classes and levels of intelligence is as clearly true of Elizabethan times as for

any subsequent age. Ben Jonson asserts the same ideal in his prologue to *The Silent Woman,* where he declares that his comedy aims to please all types and classes of people who may attend it. The scholar and friend of the courtiers is friend also of the people. The synthesis achieved in so large a measure through the rise of popular companies under noble or royal patronage—companies offering the same play and same cast on the Bankside and at Westminister —attains with Shakspere and Jonson its brief but undying splendor.

The democratic viewpoint was won after three decades of experiment with a theatre far short of a national ideal. A wise ruler, who knew her people, an aristocracy willing to harken to the people and a people eager to learn from an aristocracy, together with a national crisis, welded a whole nation together. During the fifties the drama of the public schools introduced a classical conception of form. During the sixties "the learned lawyers" introduced serious ideas and serious emotional expression. During the seventies the court introduced cosmopolitan refinement. And, finally, in the eighties the popular theatres added to these the vitality of the whole people and assimilated whatever had gone before. With the new plays all classes combined both in the audience and in the substance of the drama itself. England's scholars ceased to be mere pedants, its populace ceased to be mere boors. Humanity triumphed in life and on the stage as, under like circumstances, it must triumph yet again. For the greatest dramatic movements resemble the great religious movements in being communal, catholic, and classless. So it was in Athens; so under Elizabeth; and so it may yet be in the vast democracies of the twentieth century. Shakspere's theatre affords the most striking of all object lessons in a genuine social democracy, where neither rich nor poor tyrannize over their rivals but unite to a single end.

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SPENSER'S 'WRENOCK'

By LOUIS S. FRIEDLAND

The passage of the December Eclogue of the *Shepheardes Calendar* to which I invite attention reads:

> And for I was in thilke same looser yeares,
> (Whether the Muse so wrought me from my birth,
> Or I to much beleeved my shepherd peres,)
> Somedele ybent to song and musicks mirth,
> A good olde shephearde, Wrenock was his name,
> Made me by arte more cunning in the same. (ll. 37-42)[1]

Who is Wrenock? A number of identifications have been suggested, each of which has found a degree of acceptance among a group of scholars: (1) Wrenock represents not a person but a personification of Pembroke Hall, "the little wren" (wren-ock) among the Cambridge colleges; (2) Wrenock is Jan Van der Noot, the Dutch author of the *Theatre for Worldlings* (1569), an emblem-book in English translation, to which Spenser contributed his unrhymed versions of sonnets by DuBellay and Petrarch (from Marot's French translation); (3) Wrenock is Richard Mulcaster, headmaster of the Merchant Taylors School; (4) Wrenock is a conversion or anagram of the name, Clément Marot, whose *Eglogue au roy soubz les noms de Pan et de Robin* (1539) Spenser freely adapted to make his December Eclogue.

The first of these guesses was made by Reverend A. B. Grosart and adopted by J. J. Higginson[2] and others. Grosart writes: "Could it be a personification of his college, 'Pembroke', spelled 'Penbroke,' which, compared with the greater colleges, was 'Wrenock,' a little wren? At Pembroke he cultured his poetical powers, following up the Sonnets of the *Theatre for Worldlings;* so, in a sense, his College, in the personification of a shepherd named Wrenock, may be credited as in these lines, and especially l. 6, 'Made me by arte more cunning in the same.' "[3]

A plausible view, on the surface. Unfortunately, Grosart quotes no authority for his belief that Pembroke Hall was ever known or referred to as "the wren" among Cambridge seats of learning. An examination of all the material avail-

able to me dealing with the University and Pembroke College failed to reveal a single reference to bear out Grosart's contention; nor have I come upon such an allusion in my reading in sixteenth-century English literature. The conjecture may be dismissed as wholly without foundation, on the basis of a statement by the President and Acting Librarian of Pembroke College, Mr. Ellis H. Minns, kindly sent me in reply to my query: "I have never heard of Pembroke being called the wren among Cambridge Colleges. Of course in Spenser's time it would be a very small place as a building but not smaller than Catherine or Trinity Hall or perhaps Peterhouse or Magdalene. By a curious coincidence, perhaps the most prominent member of the college from 1605-1626 or so was the very small Matthew Wren, and if the phrase had been current in the generation before I think it would have been revived for his time and we should know of it."[4]

The interpretation of 'Wrenock' as 'little wren' is questionable, especially in connection with "a good olde shepherd." So far as I can discover, the figurative use of 'wren' in contemporary writings was intended to apply to young females; for example, Sir Toby in *Twelfth Night,* pointing to Maria, declares: "Look where the youngest wren of nine comes." Today we have come to admire the Wrens in an embattled England. It is doubtful, too, that Spenser would have thought of his College or his University ("My mother Cambridge") under the guise of "an olde shepherd."

Equally without merit is the suggestion that Spenser's Wrenock stands for Van der Noot. No evidence exists to prove that Spenser had ever met the Dutch poet. The translated 'Sonets' and 'Epigrams' in the *Theatre for Worldlings* could have been furnished by Spenser at the request of Henry Bynneman, publisher of this volume as of the pamphlet containing the exchange of letters between Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. The view that the young poet turned for schooling in versecraft to a Dutch *émigré* ignorant of the English language is too absurd for serious discussion, yet, relying on the free-for-all practice of anagram-making, several commentators have derived the word 'Wrenock' from Van der Noot. I am put in mind of one

of my college professors of French who humorously demonstrated the relation between the English 'bishop' and the French 'évoque'. "The *é* was changed to *bi* and *voque* became *shop*—and there you have it!"

A similar reliance on anagram-hunting does much to weaken the otherwise plausible case of those who hold that Wrenock is none other than Richard Mulcaster. True enough, they have the support of Spenser's practice in the *Shepheardes Calendar,* where Grindal becomes *Algrind* and Aylmer, *Morrell;* but the same poem provides us with non-anagramatic masquing of proper names, *e. g., Roffy* for John Young, *Hobbinol* for Gabriel Harvey, *Colin* (derived from Marot and Skelton) for Spenser himself, and so on. In other words, Spenser makes use of numerous devices for disguising his pastoral characters: anagrams, a vague assonance, a more or less familiar association or attribute (*Roffiensis,* for instance), or a name hallowed in the pastoral tradition (*Colin, Tityrus,* etc.), not to mention several forms of disguise which we have not penetrated. Outside the rare use of an established classical name, the attempt is to endow the invented term with a rustic cast, for the sake of pastoral decorum. For these reasons it is possible to maintain with W. L. Renwick that "the name [Wrenock] is perhaps a perversion of the initials R. M.,"[5] or of 'Richard', that is, Richard Mulcaster, though a more elaborate searching of the letters of this educator's name seems to me an unwarranted and profitless straining for proof. Such an elaboration is undertaken by G. C. Moore Smith: "It appears that to those who knew him Mulcaster's name took different forms . . . It is at least an interesting coincidence that, if the name be taken as 'Mouncaster', it yields the anagram 'Mast. Vrenoc,' and if 'Mowncaster,' 'Mast. Wrenoc.' "[6] I am inclined to consider all this farfetched. A sufficient basis for belief that Spenser had this "old shepherd" in mind in his December Eclogue is furnished by our knowledge of the relationship of teacher and pupil between the two, and by the fact that, as Mr. Renwick expresses it, "The works of this notable personality are evidence that he held such views as would influence a pupil in the direction Spenser took."[7] That Spenser adapted the

word 'Wrenock' from the letters of Mulcaster's name is by no means so clear, nor, as we have seen, is it necessary to believe that in creating the rustic name, Wrenock, Spenser remembered that Mulcaster was from the North-Country, from Cumberland.[8]

Those who hold that Wrenock is an inversion of the poet's name, Marot, enjoy the merit of connecting the "shepherd" with the author of the poem which Spenser 'translates' into the December Eclogue. There is logic and probability in this view. It was first suggested by F. T. Palgrave in these words: "In this stanza, corresponding to Spenser's seventh, Marot traces his own early attempts in poetry to the influence of his father, Jean; whose lessons are described at much greater length than Spenser has bestowed upon his own relations with Wrenock;—an unidentified name which, perhaps, is only inserted as a paraphrase of Marot."[9] Spenser's frequent borrowings from Marot hardly need demonstration; despite E. K.'s belittling reference to Marot,[10] with which Spenser could hardly have been expected to agree, the scholiast is unable to avoid an occasional mention of the indebtedness which, though much less in degree, is not unlike that freely confessed by Spenser of his Tityrus, Chaucer:

> The god of Shepheards, Tityrus, is dead
> Who taught me, homely as I can, to make.[11]

As Lois B. Borland has shown in her close study[12] of the December Eclogue and Marot's *Eglogue au Roy,* very few problems in the former can be adequately treated without relation to the French poem. Perhaps Wrenock is a "paraphrase", in rustic-sounding English syllables, of Marot's "le bon Janot, mon pêre," and "Jacquet son compêre," which the marginal glosses in the early editions of the French eclogue interpret: *Jean Marot,* and *Jacques Colin,* poets after a fashion in their day. In the brief phrase, "Made me by arte more cunning in the same," Spenser sums up a long passage in which Clément Marot describes his father's tuition in versecraft, hinting, it may be, of how much he had learned of the poetic art while translating the verses of one of his favorite 'makers'.

In any case, we are vouchsafed no more than a vague hint as to the identity of Wrenock. Who shall say with confidence the name, or names, that passed through Spenser's mind as he penned the lines of the stanza we are considering? Marot, Richard Mulcaster, Chaucer? . . . Perhaps a patron who made it possible for him to acquire the 'art'? And if so, what patron more fitting than Lord Grey of Wilton? I shall say nothing about the anagramatic suitability of the name. Let us recall, instead, the opening lines of the *Faerie Queene* Dedicatory Sonnet "To the Lord Grey of Wilton":

> Most noble Lord, the pillar of my life,
> And patrone of my Muses pupillage,
> Through whose large bountie, poured on me rife,
> In the first season of my feeble age,
> I now do live, bound yours by vassalage.

If these words, so warm and frank, so different in tone from the mellifluous but perfunctory laudation of most of the other Dedicatory Sonnets prefaced to the *Faerie Queene,*[13] have any meaning, they express unmistakably Spenser's sense of gratitude to Lord Grey of Wilton, "patrone of my Muses pupillage." Surely they indicate that Arthur Grey's assistance of the poet began long before the appointment to the secretaryship in Ireland. It has now been demonstrated that Leicester had no hand in this appointment; it appears doubtful, too, that the Sidneys found it necessary to employ their good offices in order to win for Spenser the coveted post. Why not adopt the plain implication of Spenser's own statement: that Lord Grey had been his patron from the very start?

Even if this were only a supposition it would still be altogether consistent with our knowledge of Arthur Lord Grey as a helper of poets: George Gascoigne and George Turbervile, among others.[14] As J. P. Collier puts it, "In fact, Grey seems always to have had some eminent poet in his retinue."[15] We know of Spenser's indebtedness to Gascoigne—the recipient of one of E. K.'s left-handed compliments—in the *Shepherd's Calendar* and elsewhere, especially to *The Complaynt of Phylomene,* dedicated April, 1575, to Lord Grey, and to *The Steel Glass,* consigned to

the same patron, April 15, 1576, and both published by Henry Bynneman. That Grey was at times intimately associated with Cambridge affairs is equally well established.[16] I cannot take occasion here to pursue the theme of Spenser's relations with Lord Grey and the group of poets whom Grey took under his wing. It is a theme that deserves more ample treatment than has hitherto been accorded it. Let it suffice to recall the illuminating passage from John Marston's elegy on the sad end of Arthur Grey's son, Thomas, written in 1614:[17]

> O could his Father's Genius leave the Grave
> And reassume the Facultys wee have,
> What surfeit of content might he display
> In viewing Him, and in him see dead Gray,
> Long since inter'd, reviv'd. For Arthur's Sonn
> Holds Arthurs spiritt, though his corps bee doun.
> And what divinest Spencer er'st foretold
> Finish'd in him his eies should cleere beholde,
> Where faire discretion, mixt with dauntless heart,
> Sownds loud his prowes and proclaymes his Art
> Whose Infant Muse succor'd by thy faire wing
> Had leave to thrive, and thriving learn'd to sing
> With voice Propheticke in those ruder parts
> Thy selfe sole Patron both of Arms and Artes.

In the shadowy form of the shepherd Wrenock one may be pardoned for recognizing some of the features of Arthur Grey of Wilton, to be transformed later to the nobler guise of Artegall.

The names of Spenser's shepherds reappear in many a pastoral poem made in imitation of those in the *Shepheardes Calendar:* Colin, Thenot, Cuddy, and the rest. Wrenock alone was ignored. I discover the name but once, in the *Eclogue: Concerning olde Age* that survives in part in Francis Davison's *A Poetical Rhapsody,* 1602.[18] It is a pastoral dialogue, palpably Spenserian, between Perin and Wrenock,[19] but it throws no light on our problem.

Perhaps the problem is insoluble. Very likely it is wisest to say, with the cautious and scholarly C. H. Herford, "Who Wrenock was is quite unknown."[20] But we will say this only because we believe that Spenser, always ready to acknowledge literary indebtedness, had no one in mind

when he spoke of the old shepherd who made him by art more cunning in the craft of poesy.

New York.

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[1]In Theodore Bathurst's Latin version of the *Calendar* the last two lines read: Longaevus pastor, cui nomen Tityrus, artem / Edocuit, etc. *Works of Edmund Spenser,* London, 1689, p. 390.

[2]*Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar in Relation to Contemporary Affairs,* N. Y., 1912, p. 164, n. 7.

[3]*The Complete Works of Edmund Spenser,* I. 46 n.

[4]Another Cambridge man whose low stature would have warranted the figurative term, "wren", was Richard Greenham, who preached occasionally at St. Mary's during Spenser's years at the University. The diminutive figure of this well-known divine is mentioned in the *DNB* biographical sketch. Although his name offers the letters for a perfect anagram for "Wrenock", we have nothing to establish the fact of his acquaintance with Spenser or his interest in poetry.

[5]Edition of *Shepheardes Calendar.* London, 1930, p. 228.

[6]*MLR,* VII (1913), 368.

[7]*Op. cit.,* p. 228.

[8]Mulcaster, now Muncaster, is a parish in county Cumberland; the change is illustrated in *baluster* and *banister.* The name Mulcaster, anciently Moelcastre, is a combination of Old Norse and Latin (*mel-r,* a sandbank or sandhill, and *castra,* a camp). Muncaster Castle is situated at Esk-Meol, near the mouth of the River Esk. See, Henry Harrison, *Surnames of the British Kingdom,* London, 1918, II. 32.

[9]"Essays on the Minor Poems of Spenser," in Grosart's edition of the *Works,* IV, lix.

[10]"The French poete Marot (if he be worthy of the name of a poete)". First gloss to the January Eclogue.

[11]June Eclogue, ll. 81-82.

[12]*The Influence of Marot on English Poetry of the 16th Century,* MS Thesis, University of Chicago, 1913.

[13]The Sonnet addressed to Lord Grey was in the first group, not dutifully added at a later time. Among Spenser's sonnets dedicated to individuals, sixteen in all (the seventeenth is inscribed to the Ladies of the Court), very few bear a personal or intimate note; of these few the one to Grey takes first place in respect of the qualities mentioned. The Sonnet to Raleigh implies a degree of intimate literary acquaintance; that to Buckhurst is formal in tone, a tribute to a noble poet not personally known to Spenser; a warmer touch of relationship of a personal nature comes, in the Sonnet to the Countess of Pembroke, with the allusion to Philip Sidney: "Who first my Muse did lift out of the flore, To sing his sweet delights in lowlie layes." All the other Dedicatory Sonnets are impersonal, the usual laudations of the great and powerful.

[14]J. J. Higginson, *op. cit.,* pp. 326 ff., who points out (pp. 334 ff.) the connection that probably existed between Grey's family and that of Sir John Spencer of Althorpe, father of Lady Carey, Lady Compton, and Lady Strange. C. T. Prouty, *George Gascoigne,* N. Y., 1942, Index under Arthur Grey of Wilton—relations with Gascoigne and Turbervile. *DNB sub* Grey, Gascoigne, and Turbervile.

[15]Edition of Spenser's *Works,* London, 1862, I. xlviii, n. Sir S. E. Brydges, *Restituta,* London, 1815, III. 347-49, Grey and Spenser.

[16]J. J. Higginson, *op. cit.,* p. 333. *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell,* The Townley Hall MSS, Ed., A. B. Grosart, London, 1877, p. 208.

[17]*An elegiacal poem on the death of Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton.* Roxburghe Club, London, 1822, XXXIII. S. E. Brydges, *op. cit.,* IV. 343-46.

[18]Edited by Hyder E. Rollins, I. 50-53. The opening and closing stanzas are lacking.

[19]By a slip, perhaps due to the printer, Perin addresses Wrenock as Thenot in the last stanza.

[20]Edition of the *Shepheardes Calender,* p. 189.

"AND CURST BE HE'

Calm and still in the evening air
The pointed spire cleaves the sky——
(*Good frend for Jesus' sake forbeare*——)
The hum of airplanes from on high
Sends a dread warning . . . It comes nigh——
The moonlight full on the churchyard clear——
The planes drone——thunder——swoop——sweep by
(*To digg the dust encloasèd heare*——)
Crash! on the graves the bombs explode——
The earth heaves dully——great holes gape——
(*Bleste be y^e^ man y^t^ spares thes stones*——)
Night offers but a shifting road
As the grim raiders seek escape——
(*And curst be he y^t^ moves my bones.*)

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